

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 13372 01 OF 02 052102Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 CU-02 BIB-01 OIC-02
DHA-02 /085 W
-----052136Z 024449 /73

R 052126Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2522
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY BERN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY VALLETTA
USMISSION USUN
USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 13372

SHAPE FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 13372 01 OF 02 052102Z

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, FR, UR, OREP (GALLUP, STEPHEN V.)
SUBJ: CSCE: FRENCH-SOVIET CONVERSATION

REFS: A. PARIS 12564 (EXDIS) NOTAL. B. LISBON 3410
(NOTAL). C. MOSCOW 6047 (NOTAL).

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN TALKS WITH ANDREANI, SOVIET

AMBASSADOR DUBININ PUT PRIME EMPHASIS ON NEED FOR PRIOR UNDERSTANDING REGARDING A "POLITICAL CONCEPTION" FOR BELGRADE, WHILE REMAINING VAGUE ON NUMBER OF OTHER ISSUES, INCLUDING POST-BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP, CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION, ETC. FRENCH WERE FIRM AND SAY THEY WILL MAKE NO SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. QUAI'S CSCE COORDINATOR FRANCIS BEAUCHATAUD AND HIS BROTHER JEAN-PIERRE, THE DIRECTOR OF SOVIET-EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, HAVE GIVEN US ACCOUNT CSCE PORTIONS OF SOVIET AMBASSADOR DUBININ'S CONVERSATIONS WITH QUAI EUROPEAN DIRECTOR ANDREANI LAST WEEK.

3. DUBININ'S CENTRAL MESSAGE WAS THAT, ABOVE ALL ELSE, MOSCOW WANTS PRIOR FRENCH AGREEMENT TO A "POLITICAL CONCEPTION" FOR THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE WHICH SHOULD BE "CONSTRUCTIVE," "POSITIVE," AND "FORWARD-LOOKING." IN PLAIN TEXT, QUAI SAYS, THIS IS CONTINUING CAMPAIGN FOR UNDERSTANDING THAT BELGRADE PARTICIPANTS TALK MORE ABOUT DETENTE IN GENERALITIES AND LESS ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION. FRENCH DEMURRED, SINCE FINAL ACT CLEARLY SPELLS OUT THE CONCEPTION WHICH SHOULD GOVERN THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE.

4. DUBININ, NEVERTHELESS, RETURNED AGAIN AND AGAIN TO THIS POINT, ARGUING INTER ALIA THAT SOVIET POSITION WAS BASED ON PARA 3 OF BASKET IV OF FINAL ACT, TO EFFECT THAT PREPARATORY CONFERENCE WAS TO ESTABLISH THE "MODALITIES" OF THE CONFERENCE, A PHRASE WHICH HE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 13372 01 OF 02 052102Z

CLAIMED WAS RENDERED IN RUSSIAN BY A WORD TRANSLATABLE AS "THE CONDITIONS" OF THE CONFERENCE. HE SAID SOVIETS WERE PREPARED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF THESE "CONDITIONS," I.E., THE "POLITICAL CONCEPTION" THEY WANT, IF NECESSARY, EVEN DURING PREPARATORY CONFERENCE, BUT WOULD PREFER AGREEMENT BEFORE IT STARTS.

5. ANDREANI REPLIED FRENCH WOULD NOT REFUSE TO CONTINUE TO REFLECT ON THIS POINT, (PARTICULARLY SINCE ISSUE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY COME UP AGAIN DURING DE GUIRINGAUD'S EARLY JUNE MOSCOW VISIT). HOWEVER, ANDREANI TOLD DUBININ BLUNTLY THAT GOF DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THERE WAS A PROBLEM. BELGRADE WAS NOT INTENDED TO BE A TRIBUNAL, BUT, AS PARA 2 OF BASKET IV CLEARLY SETS FORTH, A FORUM FOR AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE STATE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT. ANDREANI ALSO POINTED TO THE EMERGING ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERN OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE WHICH SHOULD GIVE SOVIETS A REASSURING SIGNAL OF THE INTENDED ATMOSPHERE.

DUBININ PERSISTED THAT IT WAS THE "POLITICAL CONCEPTION" WHICH WOULD SET THE TONE AND NOT ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. FOR THE SOVIETS THIS WAS ESSENTIAL TO CONSIDERATION OF OTHER ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM.

6. BEYOND THIS MAIN THEME, DUBININ WAS PRECISE ON ONLY A FEW OTHER POINTS, MOSTLY PREDICTABLE. THUS, HE:

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 13372 02 OF 02 052117Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 CU-02 BIB-01 OIC-02
DHA-02 /085 W

-----052137Z 024659 /73

R 052126Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2523

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY BERN

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

USMISSION USUN

USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 13372

--ARGUED FOR AN EXACT CUTOFF DATE FOR THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 13372 02 OF 02 052117Z

CONFERENCE,

--UNDERSCORED THE IMPORTANCE SOVIETS ATTACH TO
NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS,

--STRESSED THAT THE NON-FIRST-USE PROPOSAL
SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AT BELGRADE, WHICH, WHILE NOT A
DISARMAMENT FORUM, IS A PLACE WHERE THIS ISSUE SHOULD
BE "AIRED,"

--MADE CLEAR SOVIET OPPOSITION TO ANY EXPANSION
IN FIELD OF CBMS, (REGARDING WHICH WE BELIEVE FRENCH
HEARTILY AGREED),

--AND THOUGHT, IN FIRST SUCH ALLUSION HERE, THAT
CONFERENCE SHOULD SOMEHOW GO ON RECORD AS OPPOSING
THE ADDITION OF ANY NEW MEMBERS TO ALLIANCES, I.E.,
SPAIN TO NATO.

CURIOUSLY, FRANCIS BEAUCHATAUD SAYS THAT DUBININ
HAD RELATIVELY LITTLE TO SAY ABOUT THE BREZHNEV PRO-
POSALS, WHICH WERE MENTIONED BRIEFLY ALONG STANDARD
LINES.

7. ON MOST OTHER ISSUES, SUCH AS DETAILS OF THE
ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE, NEW PROPOSALS, THE FORM
THE FINAL DOCUMENT MIGHT TAKE, AND THE POST-BELGRADE
FOLLOW-UP, DUBININ WAS NOTICEABLY VAGUE: LEAVING
FRANCIS BEAUCHATAUD WITH THE STRONG IMPRESSION THAT THE
SOVIETS IN FACT ARE NOT AND WILL NOT BE READY TO MAKE
SPECIFIC TACTICAL DECISIONS REGARDING BELGRADE UNTIL
THEY HAVE CLEARER IMPRESSION OF WEST'S "POLITICAL
CONCEPTION"--AND INTEND TO USE THIS INTENTIONAL VAGUE-
NESS AS NEGOTIATING DEVICE.

8. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY NOTICEABLE ON KEY ISSUE OF
POST-BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP, ON WHICH MUCH OF FUTURE
VITALITY OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT WILL HANG. DUBININ
ALLOWED THAT SOVIETS WOULD CERTAINLY GO ALONG WITH
MODEST FOLLOW-UP ARRANGEMENTS "WHICH FLOW FROM THE
FINAL ACT," SUCH AS THE SWISS PROJECT. HOWEVER, ON
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 13372 02 OF 02 052117Z

THE MAIN ISSUE, OF WHETHER OR NOT THERE SHOULD BE A
FURTHER BELGRADE-TYPE REVIEW CONFERENCE, DUBININ AGAIN

REVERTED TO THE "KEY IMPORTANCE" SOVIETS ATTACHED TO THE "ATMOSPHERE" WHICH WILL PREVAIL AT BELGRADE. FOR THE PRESENT, HE SAID, THE USSR RESERVES ITS POSITION. "WE ARE," HE SAID, "REFLECTING."

9. FOLLOWING THEIR CUSTOM, FRENCH ALSO USED OPPORTUNITY TO HAND DUBININ TWO FURTHER MEMORANDA OUTLINING FRENCH PRACTICES IN THE FIELDS OF FREE CIRCULATION OF PEOPLE AND THE WRITTEN PRESS, WHICH INVITE USSR TO PROVIDE SIMILAR INFORMATION. ANDREANI INQUIRED GENTLY WHETHER SOVIET ANSWER MIGHT BE FORTHCOMING THROUGH FRENCH EMBASSY MOSCOW TO SIMILAR MEMO DELIVERED LATE LAST YEAR ON BASKET II TYPE INFORMATION AVAILABLE IN FRANCE. DUBININ TOOK NOTE BUT MADE NO PROMISES. (EMBASSY POUCHING TEXT THESE MEMOS TO DEPARTMENT/RPM, USMISSION NATO, AND MOSCOW.)

10. COMMENT: QUAI CONSIDERS DUBININ'S PRESENTATION TO BE OPENING ROUND FOR WHAT THEY ASSUME WILL BE FURTHER SOVIET PRESSURE FOR FRENCH CONCESSIONS IN CSCE FIELD, PARTLY IN PREPARATION FOR BREZHNEV'S VISIT HERE. BOTH BEAUCHATAUDS GIVE US THE IMPRESSION THAT FRENCH NEVERTHELESS INTEND TO REMAIN VERY FIRM. SAME POINT MADE BY QUAI PLANNING STAFF MEMBER D'ABOVILLE TO CSCE STAFF DEL GALLUP, SAYING THAT FRENCH HAD IN FACT MOVED SOME WAYS TOWARD ACCEPTING AMERICAN EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. OBVIOUSLY, CSCE WILL HAVE TO FIGURE IN TEXT OF BREZHNEV'S COMMUNIQUE. HOWEVER, QUAI SAYS THAT IF QUAI CONTINUES TO HAVE ITS WAY, IT WILL CONTAIN NO SIGNIFICANT "PRESENTS". END COMMENT.
GAMMON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, POLICIES, FOREIGN RELATIONS, DEBRIEFINGS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 05-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PARIS13372
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770158-0511
Format: TEL
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770590/aaaaczmn.tel
Line Count: 255
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b775179a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 PARIS 12564
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2631124
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: FRENCH-SOVIET CONVERSATION
TAGS: PFOR, OREP, FR, UR, US, CSCE, (GALLUP, STEPHEN V), (BEAUCHATAUD, FRANCIS), (BEAUCHATAUD, JEAN-PIERRE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b775179a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009